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/The King Vultures Society, a man's society based upon nomination from without the Ramokamekra tribe as "courtesy chief" is listed under category 794, since the functions of the group are magical but they do not constitute an organized priesthood. When acting as individuals, they are categorized as 791./

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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

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In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

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Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[160] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

[302]

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwẹ'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[160] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

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Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[599] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these negotiations. Pụkín transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktõkót; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwẹ'i.

[597]

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Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkré indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokcet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son, Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

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As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yoro, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

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Names	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yõ'ro	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atą'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atą'k	1
Põnịpõ'k	Ditto	atą'k	2
Pąrkaćą'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktõkót	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrõ'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepnót	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurẽ'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atą'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

[599] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

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the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion, though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napan, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mĩkrõ'-Kapẽrtụ'k-Koprekré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čikapró, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mĩkrõ' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwẹ'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwẹ'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakái did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Piekạ'ra might bestow her names.

Yaučẽkẹ' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

Exogamous Moieties

Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kọ'ikateye (kọ'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harã'kateye (harã = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy; their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrazilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

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MALES

Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season society
1. Korã	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Põkon	Ditto	kạ′
Kačẽkúm	Ditto	kạ′
2. Čarča	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k
Rõtjt	Ditto	atụ′k
3. Ku′kóp	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Pepkén	Ditto	kạ′
Hạpít	Ditto	kạ′
Pạnatẽk	Ditto	kạ′
4. Kõrẽk	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	kạ′
Katụ′pre	Ditto	kạ′
5. Pạrkõ	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Katạm	Ditto	atụ′k
6. Kara′hí	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Huyipri	Ditto	atụ′k
7. Tumko	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Čepkạ	Ditto	kạ′
Krạmpọdn	Ditto	kọ′
8. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
Põnipõ′k	Ditto	atụ′k
Pạrkačạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
9. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
10. Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
11. Ku′kạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Hõyavẽ′n	Ditto	atụ′k
Horkučạ	Ditto	atụ′k
12. Vi′vi	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Nõ	Ditto	kạ′
13. Mĩkrõ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Kopkré	Ditto	atụ′k
Kapẽrtụ′k	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k

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MALES—(*Continued*)

Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
14. Koipō'ro	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Akąrčą	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
15. Mĩkrō'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Koipō'ro	Ditto	atų'k
16. Rōrebō	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
Ką'kúru	Ditto	atų'k
17. Krõtõ'	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Nyukrarõn	Ditto	atų'k
18. Kenkré	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Haką'	Bat (e.)	atų'k
Pjtó	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
19. Ha'pré	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Yatrą'e	Bat (e.)	ką'
20. Parkré	Bat (e.)	ką'
Čątũ	Ditto	ką'
Vẽnyo	Ditto	ką'

FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
1. Kaṇērkwéi	ką'	8. Ho'ti	ką'
Ha'katą'i	ką'	Kahẽrkwę'i	ką'
2. Partųk	ką'	9. Krąmpéy	atų'k
Wakę'	ką'	Te'hõk	atų'k
Nyõčédn	ką'	10. Pųkín	atų'k
3. Murvá	atų'k	Prjrẽ	atų'k
Prjkwę'i	atų'k	Ko'hõk	atų'k
4. Purãkwéi	ką'	11. Terekwę'i	atų'k
Yõčédn	ką'	Mĩkwéi	atų'k
5. Kąyarí	ką'	Krãcą	atų'k
Kakrõ'	ką'	12. Põkó	atų'k
Kukrãyét	ką'	Pipų'n	atų'k
6. Koté	ką'	Kačẽkwę'i	atų'k
Krowačá	ką'	Põhjkwę'i	atų'k
7. Mĩkwéi	atų'k	13. Nyunkré	ką'
Kąryapą'	atų'k	Konkré	ką'

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Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 224 834 837 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 529 After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

616 527 604 After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k period, the mepatạmẽwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

616 575 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõẽwá society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

616 881 On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ'makra." On the day that terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the [302] *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 561 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 174 171 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to *their* members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[128]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kǫ̃'ikateyẽ and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vụ'tẹ', not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (!) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, *"which does not admit his wife's brothers."* Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[129]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrị't, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwẹ', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwẹ' pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vụ'tẹ' season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwẹ'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[128] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[129] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the ẽrente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Serente, 59–64. R. H. L.

i.e. collective labor in harvesting --- Analyst.]

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575 562 the two exogamous moieties; they certainly do not represent them nowadays and never did in the Fish companies of the tepyarkwá festival. The two girls are chosen from a part of the village circumference corresponding to the situation of the society in the plaza; and the Fish Otters have a single girl associate.

The head of a society nominates the girls, who are appointed by the council. The councilors notify the families, which, however, have the right to decline. More particularly, the girl's maternal uncle may refuse his permission, while the prospective (at present sometimes the actual) husband has no say in the matter.

The appointee is always a girl on whom the girdle has not yet been bestowed (p. 139). Such a girdle is not presented to her until the close of her term of office as a mekuičwę'i; formerly marriage occurred subsequently to this ceremony. In general the Falcons, Jaguars, and Mummers, as well as the several Fish companies, still aspire to having virgins for their associates. Not so the Agoutis, Ducks, and hõčwá, who are content with selecting any young women. The Clowns choose two ex-vų'tę', who accordingly are already married.

The girls constantly accompany the membership of their society. Their duties are few, embracing such work as is deemed inappropriate for men, viz., cooking, especially in the earth oven, fetching water, and the like. In addition they comb and paint the men, for which purposes they carry a rod-comb and a little bowl with urucú hanging down their backs from a cord (pl. 20, *a*). As a member of the Agouti society in 1935 I saw a girl dismissed because she had neglected even these few tasks and would altogether absent herself from the organization, which accordingly asked for the appointment of a successor.

575 837 562 Amours *may* develop between the girls and the members, especially during their rovings for days at a time over the steppe. In consequence engagements are broken and couples already living together separate. Mainly to avoid this risk families often refuse to let their girls assume office, so that it tends more and more to fall into the hands of wantons (p. 130). However, it is by no means the essential purpose of the institution to provide mistresses for the membership: in former times the girls departed from their association as virgins, and in general the members still hold them in esteem.

575 526 The festive societies are in part leagued together, in part pitted against one another. The Jaguars and the Agoutis who jointly appear at the closing ceremony of the vų'tę' season are opponents; and when they figure at the Mummers' festival the Mummers side with the Agoutis. In the pepkahą'k festival the Falcons, allied with the pepkahą'k, are opposed to the Ducks, and the teams of log racers during the festival are recruited from these two societies. Similarly, the Clowns side with the pepkahą'k and the Falcons.

575 555 [156] The Clowns differ from the other societies in the mode of entrance, which hinges on a person's inborn capacity for buffoonery so that any one confident in his gifts may join. But since this talent is not especially developed among the Timbira, the number of members is small—about a dozen—and at times diminishes to a point where the society feels compelled to woo recruits, especially if the Clowns seem too few for their duties at tepyarkwá. Then they invite a suitable man from each of the six plaza groups to join their number. At the pepkahą'k festival the Clowns usually succeed in persuading this or that King Vulture who finds the social obligations of that order too onerous to join them in the destruction of a wasp nest the Ducks have put up in front of the seclusion hut of the pepkahą'k. This act automatically expels the member from the King Vultures.

575 The Clowns appear as an organized body only at the pepkahą'k and the tep

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yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

The Hąmrén

This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders (mamkyẽ'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwẽ'i after the close of the initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures (tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly, the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never hąmrén ex officio.

The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior, more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population. The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rustics, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

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608 362 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

608 364 Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vų'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 575 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 608 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 171 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãpári. In any case during zetabja, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upáší) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicine-man would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by *"compadre."*[m]

[m] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1028.

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[=]

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkō'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

562 1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

[=] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

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Girls' belts.—On the morning when the pepyé põhjtĩkama were making their kuką'kaiką'ra in their plaza group lodges, the tucum cord belts (me'pré) manufactured for the pepyé girls by their mothers were suspended in front of their houses from the top of a pole 6 m. in height. However, before the sun grew too hot, the girdles were removed lest the girls after putting them on develop swellings in the inguinal glands. The girdles, still displaying the green coloring of tucum bast, were first worn by their owners when falcon down was stuck on them in preparation for the erection of the kuką'kaiką'ra bundles on the plaza, that is, on the afternoon of the same day.

Soon after the race at the close of the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony a scene was enacted in the plaza, with Koté, the eastern pepyé girl, who was betrothed to her classmate Korégn, in the main part. Koté's maternal uncle had killed a deer and secretly brought it to his sister's home. At the hour mentioned a parallel cousin of Koté's mother, taking the quarry on his back and followed by Koté, carried it along the boulevard up to the house of Koté's paternal aunt, which was almost exactly opposite her fiancé's. Thence he followed the radial route to the plaza. Meanwhile all of Korégn's younger kinswomen had assembled before his maternal home and ran to meet the bearer of the deer as soon as he turned into the radial path. Many spectators were watching from their houses to see which of the girls would prove the swiftest. The racers seized the deer, dragged it to Korégn's maternal home and distributed it among themselves.

The next morning each of these runners brought some urucú pigment and babassu kernels to Korégn's mother's house. Koté, dressed in the girdle, which still showed the natural green coloring, joined them. The kinswomen rubbed a thick coating of urucú into the girdle, painted Koté herself with the pigment and then sent her home. Several days later the same procedure was followed with Hororák, the western pepyé girl.

Should a girl be neither betrothed nor married by the close of initiation—a thing that probably hardly ever occurs—the role of the husband's or fiancé's kinswomen in running toward the deer carrier would be taken by the younger age classes, and they would distribute the booty among themselves in the plaza, while the girl's mother would be dyeing the girdle red at her home.

Departure of oldest class.—The other ceremony relates to the elimination of the hitherto oldest class among the four active racing groups. This results from the now definitive localization of the boys' class (pąntų'ktĩkama, later kra'tą'kama) on the northeast side of the plaza.

The Mummers' Festival

827 575

Introduction.—This is one of the three major festivals, one of which is chosen for performance during the years without initiations.

The Mummers (kõkrį't), one of the six men's societies (p. 95), comprise about thirty members, membership being transferred matrilineally together with the personal name. Their use of costumes is restricted to the period of the major festival bearing the name of the organization. This ceremony is celebrated comparatively rarely: about eleven years intervened between the last two masquerades (1924, 1935). Apart from this performance the members appear unmasked at the terminal solemnity of every vų'tę' period, but play an insignificant part then. For their leader they like to choose the tallest member so that his mask may tower above the rest. At present (1935) the incumbent is Yuá, the tallest of all Rąmkõ'kamekra. The meeting place of the organization is on the west side of the village.

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The term kõkrị't is not related to the words for tapir (kukrụ't) and king vulture (kukriti), but is probably composed of kõ, water, and krịt, wild. It refers to a race of monsters that, according to legend, once infested the Rio Tocantins, but has retreated downstream since the ingress of Neobrazilians. The Indians still believe in the existence of these kõkrị't and repeatedly asked me whether I had not somewhere in the course of my travels encountered these monsters along some uninhabited river. The term is often combined with the diminutive (-re) and augmentative (-ti) suffixes; and to designate the costumes the speaker adds -ho (leaves, straw): kõkrị'trehõ', kõkrị'ttihõ'.

Origin myths.—The origin of the society is thus explained by the Rąmkõ'kamekra:

The youngest age class was hunting on the Tocantins. As usual, an old man accompanied them. After they had killed and smoked a tapir, the commandant decided to return. When they had already covered a fair distance from the river, the old man recalled having left his bow behind. He asked several of the youths to run back and fetch it, but none was willing. Then at last the old man got angry and walked back alone.

When he got to the river, he saw himself suddenly surrounded by the kõkrị't. One of these, who had noticed the hunters from a distance, had hurriedly turned back and summoned all his mates. These did not, indeed, find the hunters any more, but unexpectedly met the elder. One of the monsters dashed up, threatening to spit him on his horn, but the old man begged for his life on the plea of his age. Then Kenpéy, chief of the kõkrị't, came up, forbade the others to molest the elder, and shielding him under his fringed garment, led him into the kõkrị't, village. He treated him kindly and advised him to watch the villagers closely during their dancing. The old man took careful note of everything, finally returned after five days, had the Rąmkõ'kamekra make costumes of burity bast that looked exactly like the kõkrị't themselves, and taught them the dances and behavior of the monsters.

Another experience with the kõkrị't is recounted as follows:

The kõkrị't were in the habit of gamboling about on the surface of the water and the sandbanks, producing a very disagreeable odor. One day the Indians noticed a young kõkrị't on a sandbank while the older ones were playing in the water. They ran up and kidnapped the young monster, supposing that the kõkrị't were agile only inside of the water and would find it awkward to run on land. But as soon as the old kõkrị't had detected what was going on, they dashed to the bank and pursued the abductors, who were fleeing with their booty as fast as they could. Ahead of all other kõkrị't ran Espóra, from whose wrath the Indians finally fled up a tree. He raged about its trunk and ran against it with his horns so that splinters flew off. Then the Indians were frightened and threw the young one back to him, and he went off with it.

The Pụkóbye, among whom I saw kõkrị't costumes in 1929, designated them simply as krowahõ', burity straw. Their origin tale is strongly reminiscent of the story by which the Rąmkõ'kamekra explain the origin of the tepyarkwá festival:

Two hunters accompanied by their dog were pursuing a tapir. The beast fled to a big lake, plunged into its water, and swam away from the bank, followed by the dog. One of the hunters also jumped in and swam after them. The other remained on the bank; seeing the game and its pursuers getting farther and farther away, he called to his companion to come back, but his advice remained unheeded. Suddenly he saw piranhas (predatory fish, viz. *Serrasalmo* sp.) attacking and devouring first the tapir, then the dog, and finally the hunter.

The piranhas had their village at the bottom of the water. When their chief heard what had occurred, he ordered his warriors to spew out all the flesh of the man they had eaten. This he had them lay on leaves and called the little piabinhas, the cleverest and ablest of all fish, so they might put the man's body together again. At once there appeared a school of these little fish and applied themselves zealously to the task, the chief standing by and urging them on. Soon the body of the man was again completely put together, and the piabinhas were allowed to depart. Now the chief summoned the suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), a magician, who resuscitated the man.

In honor of the resurrected Indian a festival was arranged, at which there were also masked dancers. The man noted whatever took place and resolved to imitate the krowahõ' on returning to his village. When the performance was over, the fishes led him to the entrance of a cave under

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water, which led obliquely upward. It was the cave of the taitetú pigs. By this the hunter returned to the upper world, where he introduced the krowahõ' costumes among his fellow tribesmen.

I probably misunderstood the final part of the myth when I heard it. Originally I assumed that the piranhas themselves had danced in masquerade, which was puzzling since this would still leave the origin of the masks unaccounted for. At present I conjecture that at the festival of the piranhas the hunter is supposed to see the kõkrĵ't monsters themselves, whom he imitated in the upper world by using the krowahõ' masquerade.

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Costumes.—(See pls. 37–39.) A stick, 1 m. long, resting transversely on the crown of the wearer's head, and two somewhat shorter mats, plaited of split young burity leaves, which hang from this horizontal support, constitute a costume. The front mat is about ½-m. in width, the posterior one somewhat wider. Both are hexagonal, but with three of the sides so short that from a distance the effect is that of an isosceles right-angled triangle, the horizontal bar forming the hypotenuse. The sides and lower margin of both mats are bordered by a heavy fringe of long burity fibers. From the center of the lower edge of the anterior mat a slit a span in length extends vertically upward. On the inside a pair of plaited cords hangs from the lower end of this opening on either side, and by seizing them with both hands the wearer is able to move the edges of the slit.

To the posterior mat are fastened two horns of pau rôxo wood about 2 m. long which project obliquely upward and outward; they meet at the middle of the lower margin, forming a right angle, and extend beyond the ends of the transverse rod. By a chin strap the wearer ties to his head a pad of burity bast in order to relieve the pressure of the stick. He looks outside through the upper part of the slit. The front mat extends about to the middle of the chest, whence the fiber fringe so completely hides the body that even the masquerader's feet are invisible, at least when he stands at rest. Horizontally a tuft of grass a span in length projects from the middle of the posterior side; it represents a bunch of hair from the head tied together. On the front of the costume the eyes are painted with red and black pigments made of almecega rosin with urucú, and of this rosin with powdered charcoal, respectively. However, one type of mask lacks eyes, substituting a broad horizontal stripe.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra themselves use eight types of kõkrĵ'thó (fig. 15, *a–i*) and ascribe three additional forms to other Timbira tribes (fig. 15, *j–l*). They call the foreign outfits by the same designations as the indigenous equivalents, only adding the suffix kahą'k (similar to). The kenpéy (headman) and ihõkẽ'n (clown) type are represented each by a single sample during a festival; the mekra tamtúato hók type always occurs doubly (for the girl associates); the remaining five types exist in from two to four specimens. In 1935 the membership of the society had been decreased by the smallpox, so that by way of an exception there was not a single costume of the tephetõ' type. The alien Timbira forms never figure at a Rąmkõ'-kamekra performance, which normally uses the following:

1. kenpéy (= echo), the leader's mask, lacks eyes, substituting a smooth, black forehead stripe along the lower side of the transverse rod (fig. 15, *a*). The posterior mat is painted with black animal figures, usually two monkeys, on the right and the left sides. Usually members other than the leader also put on kenpéy masks, which, however, are then distinguished by the jagged sawlike lower edge of the forehead stripe (fig. 15, *b*). This variant, also called krąti (big head), likewise bears black monkey figures on the back.

2. tõkaivéu has for each eye three concentric black circles and a central point, the spaces between the circles being dyed red. In addition, this mask has circular ears painted on and bears a moustache of thin bast fibers at both sides of the slit (fig. 15, *c*). On the back there are two vertical rows of short, black double strokes.

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3. espóra (Portuguese espora, spur) lacks, at least nowadays, any aboriginal designation. Its eyes are rowel-shaped, its ears circular (fig. 15, *d*).

4. tephothõ' has horizontally extended hourglasses for eyes and occasionally a forehead stripe (fig. 15, *e*). The name designates an herb having double leaves resembling in shape the eyes of the mask.

5. hąkã (= giboya, boa constrictor) bears two bands meeting at a right angle above the middle of the forehead; the bands have a black background with red diamonds. A narrow black stroke runs parallel to and outside each band (fig. 15, *f*). On each side of the back this costume has a stripe of black rings linked together chain fashion.

6. tõhokpó (= flatly and broadly painted eyes) has black rectangular eyes, the oblongs resting on their narrow sides. Beside each eye there is a vertical stroke, sometimes connected with the rectangle by an intervening space dyed red (fig. 15, *g*). The back usually has on each side two fish, one above the other, but sometimes a kind of cross instead.

7. ihõkã'n (= his bad grass) belongs to the kõkrį't society's clown. It is of poor material, moreover it is elaborated and patched together with studied negligence. There is no definite decoration, the eyes being painted in any desirable way so as to appear crooked and unsymmetrical. The horns are made of crooked and ill-fashioned sticks; sometimes one or even both may be lacking (fig. 15, *h*).

8. mekra tamtõa to'hõk, the two girl associates' type, has two black double lines forming a right angle in the center above the forehead (fig. 15, *i*).

The three alien types are:

9. kenpéykahą'k. Each eye consists of two red triangles beside each other, the inner being larger than the outer (fig. 15, *j*).

10. tephothõkahą'k. Its eyes are red, vertical, spindle-shaped forms; sometimes there are on each side three spindle-shaped strokes (fig. 15, *k*).

11. tohokpõkahą'k. Has for each eye a minute red triangle standing on its apex (fig. 15, *l*).

The membership always includes several boys having correspondingly smaller masks of the same types.

No other types or variants occur among the Rąmkõ'kamekra. Not only did I personally see no others, but I independently ascertained the facts by asking the kõkrį't to make pencil drawings for me of the forms extant. One man, Keča, thereupon drew the eight types shown in figure 15, including the krãtí variant of kenpéy. The three alien types were not recognized as officially acceptable.

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This result requires emphasis because the account by Snethlage, who visited the Rąmkõ'kamekra in 1924 during a Mummers' festival and was the first investigator to describe their costumes, in part sharply deviates from what I have seen and collected.[88] My observations support the following comments.

Concerning his figure 22,[89] the horns are proportionately much longer and their upper ends are not cut off straight but taper to a sharp point. The pendent fringe ought to be much longer to be in proportion and should be open in the middle below the slit.

Snethlage refers to painted eyes of square or spiral form ("auf der quadratisch oder spiralig die Augen aufgemalt waren"). As the sketches and my collections demonstrate, not a single mask has square or spiral eyes, though those of the tõhokpó are rectangular and those of the tõkaivéu are formed of concentric circles. The spiral simply does not occur in Rąmkõ'kamekra decorative art. When I painted a mask with spiral-like eyes for the Indians, they declared that they were unfamiliar with any such specimen.

Snethlage speaks of a transverse slit for the mouth ("der Mund häufig durch einen Querspalt angedeutet"). I have never seen a transverse slit on a mask; and when I asked the Indians to make me a mask with such a one, they evidently regarded this as a joke. Snethlage's figure 22 shows only a vertical slit, and a little

[88] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 465, 466; Nordostbras. Ind., 181, 187.
[89] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 181.

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farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des *Nasens*paltes." Why not "*Mund*spaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, kõkrĵ't costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummers' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummers vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

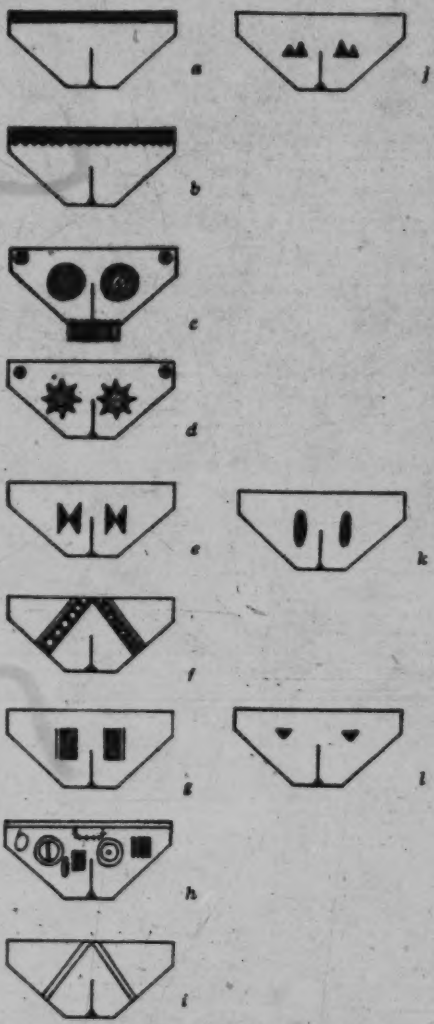

Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. *a–i*, Rąmkõ'kamekra: kenpéy, krãti, tõkaivéu, espóra, tephothõ', hąká, tehokpó, ihõkẽ'n = clown, mekratamtúa tohók. *j–l*, foreign: kenpey-kahák; tephothõ-kahák, tohokpó-kahák.

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I have seen kõkrĵ't outfits also among the Pụkóbye, the Krahõ', and the Timbira of Araparytíua.

On entering the Pụkóbye (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

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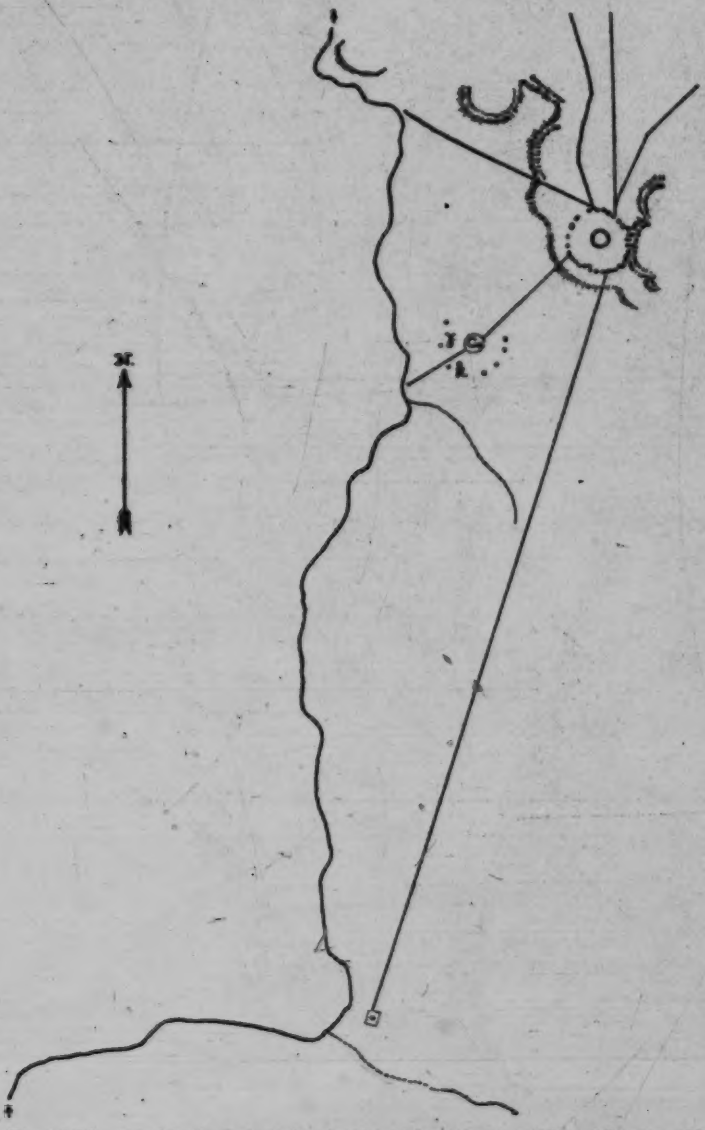

Fig. 16. Mummers' festival, chart showing fire of Agouti society (C); of Jaguars (Y); of Mummers (K). The straight line to the north of the settlement (Baixão Preto) leads to Barra do Corda, the bent line west of it is one of the race tracks, the marks east of C and K indicate an abandoned village, the watercourse to the west is the Santo Estevão, its junction with the straight line from C southwest marks the bathing site; the dotted rectangle in extreme south is the mask hut.

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January 1929, I found that the festival was over. I discovered only a single small mask, the rest having been destroyed in order to make the constituent parts fit for other uses. The specimen corresponded to the tõhokpó of the Canella, but the vertical line beside the black rectangles of the eyes was red. In the rear the place of fish figures was taken by glued-on feathers, black in the middle and red toward the sides.

The Krahõ′ whom I visited in their villages on the Manoel Alves Pequeño (1930) told me about their dance costumes and at my request manufactured one, which corresponded to none of the Rąmkõ′kamekra types. The front mask was strikingly narrow, being only about 20 cm. in width. The eyes consisted of large red triangles with a black center; the bases were coterminous with the lower edge of the mat. There were brush-shaped (*pinselförmige*) ears, and the very thin horns extended not over the tips of the transverse bar but rather toward the center.

Most of all did the Araparytíua Timbira masks diverge from the Rąmkõ′kamekra type, though the last samples, which I saw on the upper Gurupy in 1914 in very poor condition, bore an equivalent designation (ku'xid = kõkrį′t). Like the Kayapó and Karayá masks, these were high, more or less cylindrical headdresses with a fringe hanging down from the lower margin. There were traces indicating that feathers had been glued on. On top there were still two thin, almost parallel horns ½-m. in length.

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Initial steps.—The society itself, I learned, had taken the initiative in stimulating the performance of 1924. Its leader, no longer living, had summoned the members to their assembly house on the west side of the village and asked whether they were unanimously in favor of the undertaking. On an affirmative reply he announced the decision to the councilors in the plaza, who gave their consent.

In 1935 the younger generation, above all the põhįtíkama headed by Kapẽrtúk, had decided to hold the tepyarkwá, but the elders substituted the kõkrįthõ′ despite Kapẽrtúk's manifest displeasure and his inclination to offer passive resistance, which, however, was of brief duration and not seriously meant.

As soon as the Mummers' festival is definitely decided on, the two societies invariably collaborating with the kõkrį′t also assemble in their respective meeting places: the Agoutis in the maternal house of the eastern vų'tę′; the Jaguars, led by their headman, the Black Jaguar, in the western vų'tę′ house. Thereupon all three societies each choose two girls as mekuičwę'i for the festive period (pl. 37, *c*).

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Making of costumes.—Now the kõkrį′t erect a shed by a brook near an adequate number of burity palms yielding the raw material, and there they work daily at manufacturing the masks (pls. 37, *a*, *b*; 38, *a*). In 1935 this hut, a rather carelessly built gabled rancho, was two kilometers south of the aldea and upstream. As it hardly rains at this season, no pains were taken to provide adequate covering, a thin layer of palm grass that afforded protection from the sun being deemed sufficient. Mostly the members worked outside in the scant shade of the steppe trees. Nonmembers were not exactly forbidden to approach, but their presence without urgent cause, from sheer curiosity, is held improper. Except for the two girl associates, who customarily attend during the day, women are never to be seen there.

Since this work does not form the members' only occupation it consumes over a month, during which time they do not take part in log races and refrain from painting themselves with urucú for fear of soiling the material. Lacking special reasons to the contrary, the Mummers, before attacking their daily labors, join the Jaguars and Agoutis for the following performance.

Jaguar and Agouti play.—Shortly before sunrise, just after the regular morning dance in the plaza, the three societies depart for a bathing hole on the Santo

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Estevão six hundred meters from the village, where they jointly bathe. Thereupon each organization assembles separately at its own fireplace, some two hundred meters back of the bathing hole (fig. 16). The Jaguars and Mummers are the first to leave for the village, trotting along and yelling. In the village the Jaguars enter their lodge in order to decorate themselves with black paint, while the Mummers take their stand around the edge of the plaza. Immediately thereafter the Agoutis come running toward the plaza, where they begin by circling around in a hop step. Then they take a stand facing the Jaguars' lodge, put their hands against their knees, and yell.

There follows the Little Falcon's performance, which also marks the terminal ceremony of the vụ'te' season (p. 166). The Little Falcon always appears exclusively in conjunction with the Agoutis and Jaguars, the former having for their essential function that of teasing the latter, who try to catch their tormentors.

The Little Falcon's office is matrilineally inherited. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he came in straddling the neck of his hąpínpey, who vicariously performed all the appropriate ceremonies for him, the boy's mother walking alongside of her son, whose body had falcon down stuck on it.

After the procession of Agoutis and Jaguars and the posturing of the former as described above, the Agoutis face west. One of them, stooping, runs to the house of the western vụ'tẹ'—the meeting place of the Jaguars—and thence fetches the Little Falcon, who takes his stand in the center of the plaza. Then he squats on his heels, raising his right arm as though it were a wing, inserting a whistle between his lips, and with it imitating the falcon's call while the Agoutis dance in a circle around him. Thereupon the Agoutis bring the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they return racing toward the plaza. The Little Falcon, however, goes to the eastern vụ'tẹ' house, the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has disappeared there, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon responds by whistling.

Suddenly one of the Agoutis dashes at a dead run toward the Jaguars' lodge, whence he brings the Little Falcon, who trots whistling toward the plaza, squatting down in its center and spreading one arm wing-fashion, while the yelling Agoutis surround him. Then he runs back whistling toward the Jaguars' lodge, whose members receive him with a patter of feet. While the Agoutis swarm about the plaza shouting, the Jaguars come up in a trot and take up positions in the arc of a circle near the margin of the plaza. Their leader, the Black Jaguar, stands in front, their girl associates behind. The Jaguars assume a crouching posture, with their clenched fists extended forward beside each other, the back of the hands facing up. Suddenly the Black Jaguar raises his fists and indicates one of the roving Agoutis, against whom he advances with his fellows, trying to surround, catch, and throw him down. The menaced Agouti seeks safety either in some house or behind one of the Mummers scattered about the periphery of the plaza. This catching game is repeated with one after another of the Agoutis present; only the girl associates and members who happen to belong also to the hąmrén enjoy immunity. These, standing abreast in the center of the plaza and facing the Jaguars during the play, remain unmolested. At last the Jaguars retire to their lodge, whence they disperse. The Mummers then go to work in their shed, and the Agoutis make their exit.

[531] *Mummers' entrance.*—As soon as the masks are done except for the painted decoration, the Mummers decorate their bodies with black rubber pigment and bast bands, thus announcing to the villagers the impending entrance of the masqueraders. The next morning, having secured the requisite almecega rosin, the members paint their masks red and black—a task usually completed by noon (pl. 37, *b*).

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Shortly after midday the kõkrĮ't don their costumes and slowly move toward the village in Indian file. The first to appear on the wide street connecting the village and the mask shed is Ihõkẽ'n, the clown. As soon as he appears on the horizon, women and girls gather at the junction of the masqueraders' street and the boulevard. A delegate of the kõkrĮ't, but not a member, was carrying a gun and admonished these expectant spectators to preserve the peace: they were not to run out of the village to meet the kõkrĮ't, but were to wait on the boulevard, refraining from disputes over the ceremonial office of "maternity" (see below). In the meantime Ihõkẽ'n came trotting up and, on entering the boulevard, was surrounded by the girls, one of whom succeeded in tying to his horn a small beaded and tasseled bowl. This made her the clown's "mother" during the period of the festival. Ihõkẽ'n boxed the compass of the street, halting before every door and making his horns swing to and fro there. Then he ran back again on the masqueraders' street, and thus constantly back and forth between the slowly approaching Mummers and the village.

Finally the long line of kõkrĮ't arrived on the boulevard, headed by their leader in the kenpéy mask. In eager competition the waiting women and girls hurried to fasten to a horn of each mask some small ornament as a badge, such as had already been received by the clown. Those Mummers who recognized in the donors their sisters or pinčwẹ'i mutely declined the gifts by a deprecatory gesture. Then, still in Indian file, they went on along the boulevard toward their lodge, where they doffed their disguises. Then they went bathing, ate, and rested, for the costumes are so hot and heavy that the wearers perspire profusely and rapidly tire.

Chants.—After a while the costumes were put on again, and a dance rattle was tied to the Tõkaivéu, who ran in front of the house of a precentor, calling him out by stamping his feet and by movement of the slit. The Mummer extended the rattle on his horn toward the precentor, who removed it and accompanied him to the meeting house. In front of this the kõkrĮ't formed a circle around their two girl associates, the women who had preceded them in office in 1924, and the precentor; a fifth girl participated in the ceremony from sheer sympathy with the Mummers. The masqueraders began to quaver and hum, whereupon the girls in a clear voice began to sing in a slow tempo to the accompaniment of the dance rattle. The Mummers merely hummed while rocking their bodies from one foot to the other. Then the circle resolved itself into a line, which slowly marched around the boulevard in single file toward the right, halting now and then, forming a circle, and singing: "čiprõkatẽ iyerẽre mae!" (čiprõ = swallow; -rẽ = past?). An Espóra and a Tõkaivéu were in the meantime running from house to house, mutely inviting the girls to the dance in the plaza. The kõkrĮ't then, together with the maskless youths, danced humming in front of the singing girls, the two groups forming, respectively, the right and the left wing of the dancers.

Name giving.—After this dance the Mummers returned to the boulevard, where they remained standing at a point diametrically opposite their lodge. In the meantime the Clown society assembled in the plaza. One of them ran up to the masqueraders, seized their leader by his fringe, and dragged him some seventy meters along the boulevard. There he gave him a nickname and left him. A second Clown ran up, seized and led a second Mummer to the same spot and likewise conferred a nickname on him. The next two Clowns each dragged three Mummers there simultaneously and named them. Then one of the girl associates of the Clowns brought a masquerader thither, and so on until all the kõkrĮ't were reunited and had received their first sobriquet.

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Thereupon a Clown again took the leader some seventy meters farther, the rest being subsequently led there singly, in pairs or in trios, to receive their second nickname. In this way the semicircle to the Mummers' lodge was traversed in six stages, each masquerader receiving six sobriquets amid the constant mischief-making and yelling of the Clowns. Most of the names referred to some ridiculous peculiarity of the sexual organs.

Next the masqueraders collected food in the houses of their "mothers," which they brought to the chiefs and councilors in the plaza. For this purpose they carry under the costume a little basket suspended by a lug from the shoulder, also a wooden pin ½-m. long with which to spit the victuals offered and transfer them into the basket, for their hands must remain invisible.

Then the Mummers, singly and in small groups, played about the circle until after sunset, when they once more gathered at the spot diametrically opposite their meeting place. The radial path from this point to the plaza, as well as the one from the plaza to the kõkrį't lodge, had been specially widened to 6–7 m. for the organization. On this street the masqueraders now ran singly, one after another, transversely across the plaza to their lodge—Kenpéy slowly, Espóra and Tõkaivéu at a mad gallop. The two latter, without slowing up, dashed into the relatively small door, first deftly lowering one horn, then leaping sideways across the threshold, while lowering the other horn, and thus suddenly standing inside. Ihõkẽ'n, too, indulged in antics after his fashion, pretending that he was unable to find the door; twice he ran against the wall so as to fall down, finally he ran around the house and entered by the rear door.

Parade.—The following day at 5 P.M. the kõkrį't held the "penčę" parade. In a long Indian file they slowly marched from their lodge along its radial path nearly up to the plaza, returning in a line parallel to their own. Then they moved two or three houses farther along the boulevard, turned into the radius there, and continued in this way. Sometimes they would go to the plaza on one radius and return to the boulevard by the next, their long line executing parallel serpentine coils. Sometimes the Tõkaivéu would leave the line during this procession and run up and down in front of it.

Then the kõkrį't collected food from their "mothers," the married members transporting it to their wives, the bachelors consuming theirs in the meeting house.

Behavior of the Mummers.—Except for a muffled humming and a quavering in an undertone that occasionally becomes audible during their parades, the kõkrį't remain speechless, communication with one another and the villagers being by a patter or stamping of feet and by moving the edges of the vertical slit of the mask. They address and greet people by stamping their feet, summon them by protruding and retracting the margins of the slit (pl. 39, *c*). Rapid friction of the edges against each other betokens the request of a favor, for the Mummers are greatly given to mendicancy, even by the extremely lax Rąmkõ'kamekra standards (pl. 39, *d*). A gift is impaled on the wooden pin. They express gratification by dancing and by swinging of the fringe. If humiliated by a refusal, they lower their heads (pl. 39, *a*); when angered, they raise one horn menacingly against the offender (pl. 39, *b*).

Generally the Mummers run about singly or in small groups along the boulevard and its radii, the Tõkaivéu and Espóra always running most madly. In the evening a fire is kindled in front of the houses near which the masqueraders carry on their playing. None of them ever walks to a house by way of the boulevard; they invariably go first to the plaza and dash straight toward the door in question, where everyone gets out of the way of the menacing horns. Turning his body laterally and in

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rapid succession lowering the two horns one after another, a Mummer deftly jumps over the threshold of the door, which as a rule does not exceed 1.70 to 1.80 m. in height.

For the food received the members who have killed game during a hunt—where of course they are not masked—bring their "mothers" some of the flesh impaled on the horn. Ihõkẽ'n is in the habit of sitting down by the fire of a house, fanning it into a blaze, and occupying himself with whatever food is in process of preparation, but without stealing any.

[837] At night some of the kõkrį't indulge in the pastime of dragging a village wanton under their costumes, which easily accommodate a couple, and then the two disappear in the dark.

It has happened that the Jaguars borrowed the kõkrį't masks for a day in order to amuse themselves. In that case the Jaguars previously arrange a hunting trip and turn over the kill to the Mummers, who distribute it among themselves.

Throughout the festive period the Mummers from time to time make a pair of logs and race against the Agoutis.

Hunt.—When the entertainments of the kõkrį't and the collaborating organizations have spread over a sufficient period and the close of the vụ'tẹ' season is in sight, the council decides to inaugurate the terminal celebration. Thereupon the Mummers and the Jaguars go hunting for the western, and the Agoutis for the eastern vụ'tẹ'. This requires one or two weeks' time. Returning from their trip, the hunters send a kinsman of the vụ'tẹ' ahead, so that he may ask the women in the village to prepare stones and firewood for the earth ovens. On the other hand, the vụ'tẹ''s brother walks toward the hunters with a gift consisting of a confection from manioc, sweet potato, or manioc flour. The hunters camp overnight near the village and formally enter it on the following morning, preceded by an old man who sings the names of the animals bagged. A councilor goes to meet the arriving hunters and selects part of the kill for himself and his colleagues. Then the Mummers and the Jaguars march with their spoils into the house of the western vụ'tẹ', and the Agoutis similarly enter the eastern vụ'tẹ''s house. The Mummers put on their masks and disport themselves on the several roads.

[345] *Close.*—On the day before the final solemnity the Agoutis construct the framework of poles for a little round hut 2 m. in diameter and 1 ½-m. in height. It is put up about 5 m. in front of the western vụ'tẹ''s door, where the Jaguars assemble, and remains without a covering of palm leaves. In the center of this hut there is a post of pau pombo wood 5 m. in height and 10 cm. in thickness; towering far above the hut, it terminates in a fork, to which a liana (Cipó mucuña) 3 cm. in thickness is carefully tied so that it hangs down to the roof of the pole framework.

In the afternoon the Agoutis fetch the down-bedecked Little Falcon from the Jaguars' lodge and march around the boulevard yelling and leaping around him and simultaneously trying to pluck off the glued-on feathers, while the Little Falcon's pinẽwẹ'i try to protect him. Every time they pass the Jaguars' lodge the Little Falcon mounts the roof of the little hut and "flies." That is, he seizes the liana with both hands, swings off the roof with a leap on the principle of the giant's stride, clinging to the creeper, lands again, swings off to the other side, and so forth. At last he disappears in the Jaguars' lodge.

On the next day the kõkrį't as well as the vụ'tẹ' season closes with the erection of the trough-shaped kõkré log before one vụ'tẹ''s house (p. 167).

In the morning of the same day large meat pies prepared from the hunters' kill are baking in huge earth ovens. Then the Mummers, who on this occasion don their

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masks for the last time, join the Jaguars in surrounding the oven of the western vụ'tẹ', while the Agoutis assemble around the eastern vụ'tẹ''s. By the oven the "mothers" of the kõkrị't remove their "sons' " masks, whereupon the Mummers' kinswomen pour water on the wearers. Each "mother" carries the costume home, keeps it there as long as she pleases, and then takes it apart so that the constituents may be otherwise utilized—the mats for seats, the fringe for plaitwork, the horns for bows.

Character of costumes.—The masquerade costumes of this tribe are wholly secular, completely lacking religious or esoteric significance. They are unrelated to initiation, age classes, and exogamous, plaza, or seasonal moieties. The Mummers simply form one men's society, like the Agoutis, Jaguars, Ducks, or Falcons, and follow the same pattern of a leader, two girl associates, and transfer of membership from maternal uncle to sister's son. The costumes are not taboo to anyone and inspire no fear, least of all in the tribeswomen, two of whom themselves wear them. In fact, the masks are especially popular among the female population and closely linked with it through the institution of "mothers." Masquerading is a jollification for the villagers, nothing more.

According to Estevão de Oliveira's investigation in 1935, "mothers" turn up in connection with masks, though in a different way, among the linguistically isolated Makurú, who live in the state of Pernambuco, not far from the Caxioeira Paulo Affonso of the Rio São Francisco. Their masks, however, are of quite distinct type and seem to have religious value.

Pepkahą'k

Introduction.—This is another of the three intercalary festivals performed in years that lack initiation ceremonials.

Pepkahą'k means "imitating (-kahą'k) warriors (pep)," or "similar to warriors." Though the Apinayé phonetic equivalent, Pebkaág, designates the initial phase of their initiation ceremony,[35] the Rąmkõ'kamekra pepkahą'k is neither immediately connected with the boys' initiation nor a prerequisite to any social function. It almost seems as though the festival results from the desire of the last-initiated age class to enjoy once more the amenities of prolonged seclusion. There is no true origin myth (cf. p. 179) nor are the natives able to interpret the performance beyond declaring that it serves solely for entertainment.

My account rests on the performance I witnessed from April 18 till June 14, 1931.

The vụ'tẹ' season of the year had been opened on April 14. On April 18, at 5 P.M., the women and girls had pilfered the pole laden with slices of meat and fruits; and there followed the customary dance for that time of day in the plaza, which was immediately followed by the opening of the pepkahą'k. This rapid succession of events was by no means accidental or due to lack of time, but was designed to prevent the dispersal of the younger men, who were practically all assembled for the vụ'tẹ' opening and had no inkling of the prospective beginning of the festival. Some might have gone away to evade capture and participation, for not all the individuals selected for a part relish this new seclusion.

Personnel.—The personnel embraced:

1. Uninterned: two catchers (hapą'nkate), who are actual directors, viz., To'põ' of the eastern and Kuikõ' of the western exogamous moiety.

One precentor (ikrérekate); as usual, old Ką'e.

2. Interned: two leaders (mamkyẽ'ti), one from each moiety, who head their secluded age mates.

[35] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 37.

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On April 19 the kinsmen of the pepkahą'k constructed a road reserved solely for their use. It was not very wide but neat and went around the outside of the boulevard close by the rear of the residences. The pepkahą'k in the meantime built their seclusion hut (pepkahą'kyũkwá) on the south side of the village, about two hundred and fifty meters beyond the periphery; connected it by a broad road with the north-south street dividing the village into its moieties; cleared a space in front of the hut; and constructed a perfectly straight path from their retreat to the common water supply for the village, at the crossing of the western street and the Ponto Creek. They made no well of their own. Thus two days passed.

Wasp ceremony.—During the night of April 19–20 it rained violently until midnight. When the storm had ceased, the pepkahą'ktum (of 1928) formed a circle in the plaza, with their then girl associates—both now married—in their midst, viz., Kentapí and one of Ropką''s daughters. Thus they sang the pepkahą'k songs, while beside them a man with a ceremonial lance and his hąpín constantly ran rapidly back and forth in a north-south direction, loudly crying "čũ-hã!" at every about-face. This is customary in order to hasten the sunrise when a ceremony is to continue until daybreak. Actually the two men kept up this running and yelling until the sun rose.

Shortly before 6 P.M. the Duck society assembled at the south point of the house circle in front of Yądkré's house. The Ducks are hostile to the pepkahą'k, whose allies are the Falcons, the King Vultures, and especially the Clowns. During the night the Ducks had brought from the steppe a large nest of wasps with its inmates and the branch from which it was hanging; clandestinely they had set it up about fifteen paces from the door of the seclusion hut. Now they marched to the plaza to range themselves in two parallel north-south lines. Before them stood a Falcon, continuously uttering the falcon cry. Meanwhile the women assembled near the retreat. Suddenly the Ducks, led by chiefs Ropką' and Kukrãčą', came rushing at the hut with the intention of hurling the nest into it. But before they had reached the nest the women fell upon it with bunches of twigs and knocked it asunder. Nevertheless Kukrãčą' picked up a piece of the destroyed nest, dashed to the house of retreat, and knocked against the mat-covered door, behind which the pepkahą'k remained in complete silence. But forthwith half a dozen women jumped at him, beating and scratching him severely. Then all marched to the plaza. The women, some of whom had been stung several times, carried off as trophies the fragments of the nest they had destroyed.

Additions to personnel.—Next Konkré and Pačédn were brought to the plaza as the girl associates to join in seclusion. Then the pepkahą'k were augmented by eight further captives. They included four participants in the last preceding performance of the festival; one of them, Tépkakró was reckoned an adept at the songs, so that at a pinch he might substitute for old Ką'e, the singing teacher or precentor at all festivals of this category. Moreover, the two messenger boys were conducted to the scene.

After their ranks had thus been filled, the pepkahą'k retired to their hut of internment. The Ducks and the Falcons, however, ran screaming toward the houses of their girl associates, newly chosen for the current festive period, and led them out to participate regularly henceforth in the dances and ceremonies of these societies.

Seclusion.—Apart from their daily circuit for food collection and their songs every night, one notices the pepkahą'k very little during the next months. On April 28 the directors suddenly decided that the number of participants was really still too small and captured the supplementary six youths, as already mentioned.

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bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Cą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

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migrated. On the evening of June 3 the grouping was apparently tried only tentatively.

Early on the morning of June 4 the Ducks and Falcons arranged a log race. The ensuing episode really had no connection with the festival. In the presence of many onlookers the men of the kupẽ plaza group now glued falcon down on a youth of their own group whose illness had prevented participation in the last year's ketúaye initiation and painted him with urucú, all this taking place in his maternal home. The kupẽ thereupon camped at their proper station, the south-southwest corner of the plaza, whither the youth brought them a gourd bowl filled with food.

At 4:30 P.M. the men resumed the previous evening's places in the plaza according to tribal affiliation. Then, each group by itself marched in single file around the boulevard, each tribe receiving victuals from the matrilineal homes of its King Vulture members. The food was subsequently distributed and consumed in the plaza.

During this night the pepkahą'k ought to have sung together with their girls until daybreak; but the weather only permitted this activity till midnight.

On June 5 there was another sunrise log race arranged by the Ducks and the Falcons, followed by a shooting match in front of the Falcons' lodge.

In the meantime the women and girls had made for their pepkahą'k relatives new chest and neck cords (horkakaĉẽ') of the finest burity bast. The messengers collected these ornaments for the pepkahą'k, who dyed them and their newly made earplugs, also in part their own bodies, yellow with the sap of the urucú root. Then they put on this new decoration, but took pains to hide some coils of the finest cords in their hair, their girdle, their armpits, even gluing them to the soles of their feet. Two Clowns joined them, wearing bandoleers and girdles of the coarsest burity bast, which one of them had also wrapped around his ankles; instead of staffs they carried rough branches with foliage.

After the close of the Duck-Falcon log race the women assembled in the two houses between which the street from the seclusion hut merges into the village. There they waited while the two old directors of the festival met in the plaza and marched toward the hut of seclusion. Soon the pepkahą'k with their yellow cord ornamentation began to parade toward the village. But as they approached the houses where the women were waiting, these rushed upon them in full force and took off their cords in order to make girdles of them for themselves. But the pepkahą'k, robbed of all but their concealed cords, marched on along their external road beyond the circle of houses and, as usual, gathered food in their maternal homes. One of the two Clowns marched ahead, sweeping the road ahead with his leafy bough; his mate brought up the rear. Both got an ample share of food handed out to them from the homes of the pepkahą'k.

On June 9 the pepkahą'k once more decorated themselves in their hut with the yellow cords saved by concealment. In pairs and trios they sneaked backward into the steppe, describing a big arc around the outside of the village, and afterward reassembled toward the opposite (north) side. One of them climbed a high steppe tree near by, from which he could survey the entire village. The others hid in the grass, shielding themselves from the notice of chance passers-by, behind lopped-off branches.

As soon as the lookout saw the two directors meeting in the plaza in order to depart for the seclusion hut, he slid down the tree and reported to his comrades, who now, shielding themselves with their boughs, cautiously slunk through the grass toward the northern exit of th north-south street of the village. As soon as they

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had arrived there, they leapt up, rapidly took up positions in marching order, and entered the village. There the women and girls at once pounced upon them from all sides and robbed them of their remaining yellow cord decoration.

On the boulevard the pepkahą'k divided up by moieties, the eastern members going around to the left, the western members to the right; each one entered his mother's house by the front door and received a bowl of food there. At the southern exit of the north-south street the two companies met and jointly marched to their retreat. One Clown, wearing an old, completely dilapidated Neobrazilian straw hat, limped after them.

In the afternoon all the uninterned villagers assembled in the plaza, where a very youthful apprentice in magic—though under surveillance of his master, chief Hąktokót—subjected them to a preventive treatment against fatigue. Each in turn stepped up and was fanned, both from the front and back, with a sucupira branch. This was to enable him to endure to the very end the terminal pepkahą'k ceremony, which was to begin two days later and to last five days, part of the proceedings being rather strenuous.

On June 11, before sunrise, all the Ducks went bathing and then ran singing along the boulevard to the pepkahą'k retreat, where many women had already assembled, also five members of the Clown society, among them their two girl associates. These latter and one of the male Clowns wore rather crude face masks made of *Lagenaria* gourd cut into roundish shape, with two slits for eyes and a dentate slit for the mouth (pl. 40, *b*). The masks were painted white and red and fastened in front of the face by a cord running around the back of the head. The faces of the maskless men were painted black; one of them was carrying a crooked, gnarled branch for a club. On the northern side of the space in front of the retreat an earth mound had been erected as a buffer; it was roof-shaped, about 30 cm. in height, and 80 cm. long. On the upper edge of its ridge a narrow lath of burity leafstalk was attached longitudinally by two long rods stuck through its ends into the mound.

The pepkahą'k were neither to be seen nor heard, remaining silent behind the closed door of their hut. But when the throng of Ducks came rushing on, Uvę't, the champion marksman of the pepkahą'k, suddenly stepped outdoors, armed with a bow of yellow piquy wood and a bundle of arrows. He threw the arrows down in front of him, except for the one which he fitted to the string. This he shot with full force against the buffer, so that the cane shaft came down flat on the surface of the burity shoot, bounded off obliquely upward, rose high into the air, and only struck the ground far ahead. This form of buffer shooting, vato'tẽ'k, is a national sport of all the steppe Timbira, who practice it from childhood on. The archer whose arrow flies farthest after its impact is regarded as the victor, winning all the arrows behind his own.

Immediately a Duck stepped forth and took aim at the buffer. But at the very moment when he was about to let fly, the masked Clowns, with wild shouts and menacing gestures, swooped down upon him, trying to confuse him so that he would make a poor shot, thus enabling their friends, the pepkahą'k, to win. They kept quiet when the pepkahą'k archer's turn came.

Thus the Ducks and the pepkahą'k continued shooting in competition. A boy gathered up the arrows discharged and took them back to the archers' stance. The Ducks won. Finally the two marksmen ran a race, holding their bows in their hands, and following the pepkahą'k street which led to the water hole, and this time the pepkahą'k won.

Log race.—These competitive games were followed by the preparations for a log

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race of the type characteristic of the meipimrą'k period, between the ką' and the atų'k. In their retreat the pepkahą'k united with their friends, the King Vultures, and there they split up into ką' and atų'k with their appropriate decorative paint—the ką' using vertical and the atų'k horizontal black parallel lines. Witnessing these preliminaries in the seclusion hut, I noticed a cord stretched horizontally from which were hanging numerous coils of spun cotton string and beaded cords. These had been made by the pepkahą'k for subsequent use by their kinswomen in manufacturing the final decorative outfit for the members.

There followed a log race—not, however, as might be surmised from the preparations, of ką' versus atų'k, but of the united pepkahą'k and King Vultures against the Ducks. Nearly all the girls and women of the village accompanied the racers, carrying gourd bottles with water for them.

In the evening the pepkahą'k divided by moieties on the left and right side along the boulevard, each going to his mother's house, where for the first time he resumed eating with his matrilineal relatives.

Haircut.—In the same night all women and girls who stood in the pinčwę'i relation to any Falcon had their hair clipped short in the back of the neck. A bright fire was burning outside the Falcons' lodge at the east point of the boulevard. The Falcons marched round the boulevard, singing their choral-like chants. Toward 8 P.M. they formed a circle outside their house of assembly, with their girl associates in the center, and in this position they continued chanting, while their pinčwę'i, some accompanied by their families, were assembling somewhat to one side by several little fireplaces. An elderly Indian holding in his hands a pair of scissors obtained from me and accompanied by his assistant walked along the boulevard, loudly crying "tiyõ'aõ'aõ'a!" (tiyõ' = Portuguese tezoura, scissors). As soon as his circuit had led him back to the Falcons' pinčwę'i, he cut off the long hair from the necks of several women; his assistant tied together the tuft clipped off and attached one after another to a long cord, while the pinčwę'i were bandying jokes about their altered appearance. Then the two men, continually shouting, went to the plaza, returned, and again clipped off tufts of hair from the necks of a number of other women. At 10 P.M. the last haircut was completed, whereupon the Falcons fell silent, and everybody went home.

End of internment.—Even before sunrise the entire village assembled on both sides of the broad street leading to Ponto Creek that had been specially built by the pepkahą'k for the ceremony to come next. About a hundred meters beyond the circle of houses the street was barred by a mat screen about 1.50 m. high, behind which the pepkahą'k and their two girl associates had slept during the night. In front of this wall, parallel to each other and in the direction of the street, were lying two poles (avarvrę're) 12–13 m. in length, which the Falcons had chopped down and deposited here on the day before. At the same time the Clowns had hidden two posts about 2 m. long in the grass near by. The two long poles were laid on leaves, and a young Indian painted them red. Then an attractively painted man hung with all sorts of ornaments knelt down first between the tops, then betwen the butt ends of the poles, and sang with outstretched arms. As soon as he had finished his act his decoration was removed. Then the men of each moiety raised one of the poles, running with it to the intersection of the street and the house circle. There they laid the poles down for a moment, but at once lifted them again, and carried them to the plaza. There the men of the eastern moiety put theirs on the west side, with the butt toward the east; the western men put theirs on the east side, with the butt toward the west. Now a hole was dug for each pole on the east and

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west sides of the plaza, respectively, the distance of the holes from the butts being made exactly the same. Suddenly both groups hastily raised their posts, set them into the holes, and fixed them firmly in place by stamping, each team trying to outdo the other in speed. The eastern moiety erected the pole standing on the west side, and vice versa.

They had not yet completed the job when two Clowns, carrying their posts on their shoulders, came rushing to the plaza by different streets. There they laid down the posts in north-south lines parallel to and beside each other. Suddenly lifting them, they competed with each other in planting the sticks in two holes already in evidence on the north and south sides.

After the erection of the avarvrę́re the pepkahą́k moved around the boulevard, dispersing to their several maternal homes, whence they no longer returned to their retreat, since their seclusion was ended.

The avarvrę́re remained standing on the plaza for a week without anyone's paying the least attention to them. Then they were removed and used as building material.

Clowns.—Now the Clowns, whose girl associates were holding carrying baskets, danced from house to house round the boulevard, headed by two men with dance rattles. People from all the maternal houses of the pepkahą́k brought out food and laid it in the girls' carrying baskets as a token of gratitude for the way the Clowns had helped the pepkahą́k. During this episode the chief Kukrāčą́, the hindmost dancer in the Clowns' line, tried to sneak into the houses in order to steal victuals, but the women generally caught him in the act and drove him out with blows. The circuit ended before the Clowns' meeting house at the north point of the village.

In various houses the inmates now began to prepare meat pies, which were subsequently baked in an earth oven behind the house.

In the afternoon the Ducks and the Clowns performed the following dramatic scene. At 3:30 P.M. a man and a boy of the Duck society ran around the boulevard. In their mouths they were holding flat, round whistles made of a snail helix perforated in the center, and with these instruments they produced a twittering noise mimicking wild ducks on the wing. Soon "eggs" were set outside the door of each Duck's maternal home—such fruits as oranges and mangos, but also other forms of food. The two marchers circled round the "eggs" twittering and crying "kuyū́," after which they trotted on. Then they made a second circuit, shouting and twittering, and collected all the "eggs" outside the doors.

In the meantime a huge gourd bowl, painted with urucú at the edge, had been brought to the plaza to represent the Ducks' "lake." The members assembled round it and stooped to drink. The man and the boy joined them, and now "the Ducks laid their eggs," that is, they concealed the fruits and other provisions in the sand and grass at the margin of the plaza.

Meanwhile, from the door of his own society's lodge, a Clown observed the doings of the Ducks and finally sent one of his colleagues to the plaza to find out whether the Ducks were really by the lake. He found them standing around the water bowl. Then the Clown, arming himself with a gigantic crooked bow and a shapeless arrow 2½ m. long, approached the Ducks, and shot off his arrow over them. At once "the Ducks flew into the air," that is, they ran to the creek and bathed, while all the Clowns came and gathered the concealed "eggs."

On the same afternoon the King Vultures' hąpín swept the radial paths leading from their "friends'" maternal homes to the plaza.

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Mat dance.—At 7 P.M. the entire population of the village gathered in the plaza, the families building small fires at the periphery and camping there. In the middle the pepkahą'k sang and formed a circle round the King Vultures. Some days previously the pepkahą'k had turned over to their pinčwę'i the burity mats as soon as they had finished them. Each King Vulture now received from his sister or female parallel cousin a mat and a little meat pie, but at once handed these gifts to his pinčwę'i. These female "friends" of the King Vultures now sat with folded mats in the circle around the dancers. When the night grew cold, they rose and covered themselves with the mats, standing at midnight like pillars. But then they opened the mats in the back and joining one mat to the other formed a compact circle around the dancers to shield them from the cold. Judging from my personal experience, this aim was actually attained. From the outside nothing of the group appeared except the closed circular wall of mats.

Meanwhile the dancers took turns walking to and fro with a ceremonial lance from north to south outside the group and crying loudly "čũhã!" each time before facing about on the south side. As noted, this rite purports to hasten the coming of daybreak.

More haircutting; feathering; Ducks.—On the same night the long occipital hair of all hąpín and pinčwę'i of either the King Vultures or the pepkahą'k was cut short and united with the tufts clipped in the preceding night from the Falcons' pinčwę'i. The resulting large bundle was subsequently hung from a branch about 6 m. high in the steppe to the west of the village, whence I took it down for my collection. This ceremony lasted all night; only at daybreak the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures jointly danced around the boulevard, then dispersed to their maternal homes.

On the following morning (June 13) the pepkahą'k, accompanied by their two girl associates and those of the last preceding celebration of the festival, gathered together in a house on the northeast of the circle of houses, where falcon down was stuck on them. At the same hour the Falcons, each in his maternal home, were similarly decorated. Three little children—"young falcons"—were also feathered with periquito down and later took part in the ceremony, straddling the shoulders of adults. While the completely ornamented pepkahą'k were singing in the house, a Falcon "flew" from house to house, that is, used his arms to mimic flying, and assembled his mates, who jointly crossed the plaza and marched straight to the house where the pepkahą'k were still singing. On the space in front of the house they encountered the members' hąpín and pinčwę'i, who were dancing in one line and all holding a long pole horizontally before them. Opposite to them the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the King Vultures were similarly dancing in a parallel line with another pole. Two Falcons, holding staffs, and two erstwhile girl associates carrying the "young falcons" on their shoulders, walked back and forth between the two poles for a while, then the Falcons departed for the plaza, soon followed by the pepkahą'k and the undecorated King Vultures.

In the meantime, the female relatives of the several pepkahą'k were making meat pies, which they turned over to their kinsmen's pinčwę'i, who distributed them in the houses.

Then the Nestor of the village, flanked by two other old men who had once belonged to the Duck organization, stepped into the plaza facing east. The Ducks took positions behind this trio. Presently the Falcons rushed out of their lodge on the opposite side and bombarded the Ducks with pieces of sugar cane, yam tubers, oranges, etc. The attacked party evaded the missiles by deftly jumping aside, but

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several nevertheless received slight scratches. Then the Ducks faced westward and were similarly assaulted by the pepkahą'k of the preceding celebration.

King Vulture ceremony.—Toward 4 P.M. each of the thirty-four King Vultures in his maternal home had his chest, back, arms, and thighs decorated with bands of falcon down three fingers wide, the intervening bare spaces of the limbs and body being painted with urucú. They further donned the dorsal ornament that is exclusively theirs, viz., a bundle of carefully smoothed bamboo rods (popók) of lead-pencil thickness and about 30 cm. long. In the following ceremony all the thirty-four King Vultures exactly patterned their behavior on that of their leader Tunkõ', whose movements they immediately imitated, producing a very pretty effect.

Exactly at the same time as Tunkõ' all stepped out of their homes on the boulevard, where a big gourd bowl with food had been set down for each man. All made flying movements with a leftward lunge and outstretched arms, then took the bowl into the left arm, followed the radial paths of their homes halfway to the plaza, constantly making leftward lunges, dragging the right foot after, and mimicking flying with their free right arms. At the halting place they set down the bowls and for a while repeated the flying movements with both arms. Then they picked up the bowls again and in the manner described advanced to the plaza, where they all arrived at the very same moment from all directions and united in a circle. Setting down the bowls, they continued for a while with flying movements with both arms. Meanwhile the other men of the village had been standing in the plaza, segregated by the four tribal divisions. Now they approached, picked up the bowls, and distributed the food in them among themselves.

Thereupon the King Vultures marched to a house on the northwest side of the village, where all deposited their dorsal pendants on a mat placed on the ground. Their kinswomen picked them up, sheathed them in specially plaited burity bast containers, and then stowed them away. The King Vultures then marched back to the plaza and sat down on the west side.

Meanwhile the Falcons and Ducks, preceded by two men with ceremonial lances, jointly danced in a double line round the boulevard, singing. This dance announced the imminent slaughter of a tame taitetú pig on the following day.

Toward sunset a bearer of the pepkahą'k lance ran to an eastern house, out of which soon stepped the pepkahą'k girls, preceded by two men with dance rattles. They wore broad, undyed cotton wristlets with thick tassels, and down each one's back was hanging a little bowl. Slowly singing and dancing, the group moved toward the plaza, while the lance bearer was constantly running back and forth between them and the plaza. When the dancers had at last reached the plaza, the lance bearer thrust his lance into the ground, whereupon the two girls, who had been joined by their predecessors of the last preceding celebration, together with the rattle bearers formed a circle around it, and sang while dancing toward and away from the lance.

The day closed with a round dance in the plaza by the united pepkahą'k, Falcons, Ducks, and King Vultures, followed by a final dance around the boulevard.

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Killing of pig.—On June 14, the last day of the festival, a tamed taitetú pig was killed, as in the ketúaye and pepyé festivals.

Directly after sunrise the Ducks appeared with cudgels, ran around the boulevard, then across the plaza toward the house of the woman who owned the taitetú. The beast was led to the space in front of the house and immediately clubbed to death by the Ducks, who dragged it into the steppe amid the loud lamentations of

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all the male and female residents of the dwelling. Similarly the Ducks treated a tamed paca (*Coelogenys paca*). For lack of another tame taitetú, the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns then killed a domestic pig, which was cooked in Yadkré's house. In the meantime they and the Ducks, who were carrying the taitetú and the paca, marched on the north street beyond the village to the next ford of the creek, about three kilometers away, where they camped beside the road and prepared the meat. This was accompanied by a sort of exchange of wives: the Ducks' women joined the company of pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns, and the wives of members of these three societies went to the Ducks. That this exchange, however, involved anything beyond preparation of food by the women for their new associates, I was not able to determine.

Log race.—When all had eaten, bathed and rested, two pairs of race logs were brought, which had been fashioned near by on the previous day—a heavier pair for the males and a lighter one for the females, for the return to the village was to conform to the traditional log-race pattern. At 4 P.M. there was first the customary dance near the logs, which were lying in pairs on the street, then the women took up theirs and ran off, the men following after a considerable interval with their own logs. The women's pair had again, as usual, been made too heavy: especially on sandy knolls they were barely able to move, had to drop them several times, and overcame the final climb into the village only with the aid of several men and youths, just as in the corresponding ketúaye race of the preceding year.

Fire ceremony.—After this double race there was a performance peculiar to the pepkahą'k in its final stage.

A fire was kindled in the plaza; around it some twenty young men and half-grown lads, decorated with various ornaments, knives, cloths, spoons, and other goods, formed a dancing ring under the direction of a precentor. A number of men, similarly decorated, stood outside the circle, and behind them their kinswomen with gourd bottles filled with water. A certain Čąre meanwhile ran with his lance from house to house and brought a number of young women and girls to the plaza, where he assigned places to them, each one standing at the intersection of the plaza and her mother's radial path. Taking a brand from the fire, the precentor of the dancers handed it to one of the girls, who ran straight toward one of the men and thrust the brand at him. Those girls who were or had been vų'tę', pepkuičwę'i, or pepkahą'kkuičwę'i only made a pretense at thrusting and laid the brand down at the man's feet; but the present or former girl associates of the several men's societies thrust their brands with serious intent, so that the one attacked had to guard himself against a real burn. As soon as the girl took the offensive, the victim's kinswomen came rushing up and, irrespective of whether he had been struck or not, poured water on him from head to foot. A matrilineal kinsman of the assailant then divested the man of all his decorations, but was then under obligation to compensate him with a counter gift on the next day. This scene with the brand was repeated until the last of the males present had been stripped of his ornaments.

Final procedures.—In the evening twilight the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and King Vultures, on the one hand, and the Ducks, on the other, appeared for a circuit around the boulevard in opposite directions. Again each participant received some object from his maternal home—almost always something of civilized origin, more particularly, cloth or iron tools. Whatever was thus obtained was laid before the owner of the killed taitetú and of the paca (but not before the pig's owner), these women sitting each in the space in front of her dwelling. A clown also appeared bringing his society's offering of an indemnity—a wholly useless tattered old basket

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Thus closed the pepkahą'k. On the following morning the several collaborating societies and the pepkahą'k arranged a shooting contest on the radial streets. This continued for hours until the eastern vų'tę' brought an enormous gourd bowl filled with food, which was jointly consumed in the plaza. Thus the vų'tę' ceremonial once more gained dominance.

Tepyarkwá

This is still another of the three major festivals one of which is intercalated during years without initiation ceremonies. Tep means "fish"; yarkwá, "its mouth" (figuratively, "its song"); the designation of the festival thus signifies "Fish Song."

Origin myth.—As usual, this explains not the ultimate origin, but the alleged loan of the ceremony from previous performers. The tale recalls the Pųkóbye myth about Mummers' costumes (p. 202).

The Indians had planted their plots; having nothing to eat before the harvest, they moved to settle for some time on the west bank of the Tocantins, where there were many babassu palms.

After a while two young men were sent back to inspect the state of the fields. When they got to the river, they decided to cross without the trouble of making burity leafstalk floats, merely swimming unaided. Tying their few possessions to the tips of their bows, they began to swim; but when they were precisely in midstream a huge sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus* = anaconda) loomed up out of the water near by. Then the man named Pore'téy said, "If the sucuriju devours one of us, the other shall not swim on but turn back at once and inform the people!" The snake got closer and closer, at last reaching and seizing Pore'téy. He let go his bow and trumpet and the snake devoured him. His companion, witnessing the calamity, at once turned back to the bank and hurried to camp with the news. Pore'téy's kin cried bitterly.

Three days later the sucuriju was lying on the bank bloated with its prey. A school of piabinhas (Characinid: *Tetragonopterus* sp.) noticed it as they swam past and reported the fact to the chief of fish, Suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), who dispatched another fish to verify the report. Then he called together all the fish and moved to the spot where the snake was lying. He ordered one fish to crawl into the snake's open mouth to find out what it had devoured. When the fish returned from the snake's belly, it reported having seen a man still alive, since his heart was still beating. Then Suruby bade one fish after another crawl in until the man's body grew loose and slippery. Finally he sent the jejú (*Erythrinus unitaeniatus;* these fish are covered with a slippery phlegm), which pushed the man out of the serpent's mouth. They moved and stroked him back to normal condition and washed him. When he had returned to consciousness and was suffering less pain, Suruby took him to his village and fed him.

The fishes and other water animals were just about to celebrate a great festival, so Pore'téy was able to witness the whole of the ceremonial in Suruby's company. He paid close attention, taking pains to memorize everything. When at last the fishes brought him back to land and dismissed him, he returned to his village and taught the Indians everything he had observed at the fishes' festival. Since then the Indians have celebrated the Fish Song.

Personnel.—This consists of seven ceremonial groups—the six plaza groups (menkąčą) plus the Clown society (me'kén), composed of members of all the plaza groups. During the festival the following ceremonial companies correspond to the plaza groups and are localized accordingly in the plaza.

Western	Eastern
kupõ' = teprãti (small fish species)	čõdn = čeučétre (stingray)
kétre = apą'n (piranha)	čẽ'pre = tẽ're (fish otter)
aučét = tep (fish, generically)	hąká = tep (fish, generically)

The Clowns take their position on the north side of the plaza, between the eastern and the western tep companies. The five Fish companies jointly form a unified whole, the Fish Otters standing segregated as their counterpart, and the Clowns in opposition to all the six others.

The actual leader of the Fish companies is the crier, kõyamprõ' (water foam). His appointment by the council at some log race starts the preparations for the festival. Usually the office devolves on Koïpóro, famous for his strong and deep

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voice. He betakes himself to a certain house on the eastern side of the village that always serves as Fish lodge at a tepyarkwá, and summons the young people. All except the Clowns come painted red, irrespective of their social affiliations. The council further appoints two nominal Fish chiefs called tepti (= Suruby), wearing a forehead band with long points (the Suruby barbules). Four kutápti (= jejú) are appointed as messengers of the Fish (pl. 41, *a*). A girl about ten years old is likewise selected by the council to serve as girl crier (kõyamprõkuičwę'i) and is decorated with falcon down in the Fish lodge.

The girl associates of the several companies, except for the Clowns' (pl. 41, *b*), are appointed not by the members but by the council; the Fish Otters have only one girl, the other companies two each. In the plaza the councilors softly discussed their choice and in low tones communicated their decision to their herald, Pąrkré, who would trot off singing on his way to the girl designated and extend the tip of his sword club toward her, which she would grasp with her hand; thus he would lead her to her proper place. The girl associates of the several Fish companies are chosen from those houses in the village circle which correspond in their position to the company in the plaza.

Each Fish company has its peculiar songs, which they sing daily in their huts. Daily, too, they collect food, as described, on a march around the circle; and the Clowns "angle" for their share. The Fish Otters, who play a distinctive role, get their food from the other companies.

On the day of the decision to hold the festival there were afternoon log races of men and girls, followed by a relay race of the girls around the boulevard.

The next morning before sunrise the tepyarkwá was inaugurated by plaza dances. In the afternoon men and girls again ran log races, as well as relay races, and pairs of men raced clear across the plaza. Then followed the appointment of the girl associates as described—except in the case of the Clowns.

The several Fish companies and Fish Otters assembled in their lodge on the east side of the village, being summoned thither by the crier's prolonged, piercing yells. At 4:45 P.M. a loud patter of feet became audible in the house, and out stepped the crier, his maternal uncle, the girl crier and her special "friends" (kričwę'i).[a] They marched around the boulevard, the crier uttering his strident call before the maternal home of each Fish company member. Then food was brought out of each of these houses and laid on a mat in the space in front of the building. The Fish companies, in two lines, now marched slowly around the ring, headed by the crier and his companions. The crier's uncle would constantly run ahead a bit, return to the Fishes, rub together the palms of his hands, run ahead, etc. This is the customary ceremonial way of conducting any organization to a definite spot or along a definite route. One of the messengers meanwhile ran ahead, picking up the food, and handed it to the Fish before whose maternal home it had been lying.

When all the food had been gathered in, the Fishes, numbering fifty-three, marched to the plaza, forming a compact mass in its very center. The two tepti, each holding a bundle of maize cobs in his hands, ran round the group in opposite directions till they met. Then they would brandish the cobs at each other, turn face about, run in the reverse direction until they met again, and so forth.

Clowns.—In the meantime the Clowns had assembled in their lodge, also on the east side, but farther toward the north. There they prepared their grotesque decoration, including amorphous "fishing rods" consisting of a crooked, unsmoothed pole and any kind of cord for a line.

[a] This seems to be a variant of the usual pinčwę'i. R. H. L.

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Suddenly out of the Clown lodge stepped an old man, ridiculously made up, accompanied by a young lad and a boy who were carrying grass pouches hung from their bodies. The old man was carrying the "fishing rod" and simulated walking along the edge of some body of water harboring fish. He pretended to look for a favorable place to throw his line, but encountered all manner of mishaps. First, a tocandira ant stung him so as to make him hop on one leg screaming, then he suddenly bumped his head against a wasp's nest hanging from the branch of a tree and was naturally attacked by its inmates, whereupon he burnt up the nest. All this was done so realistically that all the spectators at once understood the intended meaning, even though there were no signs of water, wasps, or fire. When he had with comical gratification ascertained the Fishes' presence, he went to the radial path leading to his company's lodge and whistled. The Clowns answered from within, but the old man looked about in amazement in all directions, finally declaring that apparently some one in the sky had answered. Then the Clowns came out of their lodge with all sorts of absurd decoration and implements, marched to the plaza, surrounded the Fishes, pretending to throw lines, and carried on their antics in other ways.[35]

Suddenly Chief Hąktõkót, representing the "old Fish Otter," ran yelling toward the Fish, whereupon the Fish Otter company, numbering some twenty men, separated from the rest and took positions on the east side of the plaza. Simultaneously the Fish societies proper gathered on the west. The Clowns picked up the victuals remaining in the center and betook themselves to their appropriate place on the north of the plaza, where they distributed and ate them. But while still en route the old Clown was "bitten by a snake" and wallowed on the ground with pain; two other Clowns approached, pretending to treat him, and sucked out of his sore foot string that was some meters in length!

On the following day the seven huts of the companies participating in the tepyarkwá were put up in the proper sites at the periphery of the plaza. They were small rectangular gable huts except for that of the Fish Otters, which was a conical framework of poles, and 6 m. high (pl. 42). At the center post (tẽ'rekuičwẹ'i-yapírčą, Fish Otter girl's ladder) a number of tree forks had been allowed to remain so as to permit the girl (there is only one in this company) to climb up—not to serve as a lookout, as I had once conjectured, but to save herself during the impending attack on the hut by the other Fish companies. The Clowns' hut, like everything pertaining to this organization, was crooked and poorly fashioned; on the gable side an old frayed basket was set flaglike on a crooked pole. Nor did the Clowns scruple to burn down their hut on occasion from sheer mischief and to put up another that was still worse-looking in its place.

[35] An earlier field trip by the author resulted in the following observations: Then the Fish chief and his retinue begin to make a pattering noise in their lodge, whereupon they move out to the boulevard and gather food from their mothers' maternal homes, while the Suruby holds a sweet potato between his teeth. The crier and the girl walk ahead to scout for food. When a collection has been made along the circuit, they march with it to the plaza, circle around it and take up positions in the center of the plaza. Soon the Clown headman comes with a gigantic bow "to inspect the fish in the lake." Then he steps aside a bit, and whistles through the hollow of his hands, thus calling his comrades, whom he tells how many fish there are in the lake. The Clowns with baskets slung over their shoulders and their uncouth rods in their hands now cautiously approach to surround the fish. They throw the ends of the line among the Fish, who tie vegetable produce to them. As soon as the Fish start a patter with their feet, the Clowns lift the rods aloft and collect the booty in their baskets for subsequent distribution in their lodge.

The Fish, however, disperse, grouping themselves once more on the plaza according to the six plaza groups, each spending the night at its appropriate station. On the following morning each group sends out one man to hunt, while the other members erect a little hut at the plaza site belonging to each group.

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In these huts the members loafed much of the day with their girl associates, who prepared the collected food, painted them, romped with them, and for the most part were not averse to a bit of philandering.[88] The teprâti, however, bitterly complained that Kahęrkwę'i, one of their two associates, was extraordinarily unaccommodating, would deprecate love affairs, and simply ran off when the members would not leave her alone. Thereupon they went to the council and begged for the appointment of a substitute, so Kahęrkwę'i was superseded by Ačukwę'i, who is considered a veritable gem in point of amiability. As a member of this company I spent much time in the hut and was able to observe all of this episode at close range.

Eight days later the Clowns again indulged in mad pranks. Secretly assembling near the village, in the woods by the bank of a stream, they put on their grass ornaments, that is, bandoleers, wristlets, knee bands, cravat, and forehead band with two erect brushlike tassels and long temple fringes, all of burity bast. Moreover, each Clown made for himself a pole 2 to 3 m. long; it had poker-work designs and a grass tassel below the tip. The two girl associates whom they had meanwhile selected were decorated with falcon down. Besides their cord girdles with short leaf apron, they wore forehead bands, wristlets, and bandoleers like the men's; also they were decorated with false queues over a meter in length, which except for the enormous terminal tassel were wrapped with bast and hung down to their calves. Their bandoleers resembled those of the precentresses, but were coarsely plaited of bast and had huge bast tassels.

The Clowns usually choose ex-vų'tę' for their girls, conducting them from their homes with absurd antics. But at the time of the last performance witnessed, one of these women had recently been delivered of a child, so the members substituted a young married woman named Kąyarí. A jolly lass, she compensated for the shortcomings of the other associate, the ex-vų'tę' Repíya, who somewhat resembled the above-mentioned Kahęrkwę'i in disposition, so that she was little qualified for the part of a Clowns' companion.

For sheer mischief one of the men could not refrain from putting on a girl's leaf apron, producing the same effect as a civilized man would in a woman's clothes. I explicitly emphasize that this was pure buffoonery and in no way betokened a "berdache." By way of contrast to this "bashful" Clown, another sheathed his penis in a long, slightly curved *Lagenaria* tied on so as to form a phallus 30 cm. in length.

However, the main decorative piece of this company was a female doll 60 cm. in height and carved from the pith of the burity. Its face was painted with urucú, and the figure wore beaded cords around the neck, chest, wrists, and knee joints. Kąyarí acted the part of the doll's mother.

In the afternoon the Clowns suddenly marched into the village and went to their hut, where they presently enacted a series of extravagant family scenes, such as I had fortunately never witnessed in real life among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

First, the doll's "kin" furiously attacked and beat up the "mother" for maltreatment of her child, whom she was accused of having thrown down and otherwise abused. Others took the mother's part, and she herself was not backward in vigorously defending herself, most disrespectfully dragging an old Clown along the ground by one of his legs. There ensued a scene of adultery. One Clown conducted the "mother" behind the hut, where both lay down and simulated cohabitation. Another man arrived and relieved the first. Then the transgression was discovered, precipitating a first-rate row. Finally, the "mother" devotedly sat down, took up her "child," and "nursed" it.

[88] According to earlier notes, one of the male members put food into the girls' mouths.

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During the entire festival the Clowns sing pepkahą'k songs every evening, in memory of the pepkahą'k festival, at which they also play a great part (p. 221 ff.).

The Fish Otters wear forehead bands of cotton string. From these ornaments two arara tail feathers hang down the back by long cords; almost reaching the ground, they form the tẽ'reyapį', that is, fish-otter tail. These feathers, nowadays very valuable because the arara is virtually extinct, have a long history. In 1934 they formed the age-class leaders' occipital ornament at ketúaye. After the close of this initiation they were made over into an ornament called hąkyará, which goes around the forehead and down the back; the council allots it as a distinction to the best precentor in the village. This man danced and sang with it for two years, then he gave it to the Fish Otters for use as a head ornament in tepyarkwá. At the close of this festival the headbands of the tẽ're fell to the Clowns' share, and by the council's orders the feathers were to be worked over to ornament a ceremonial lance (krowačwa), to be awarded to Pąčet, head of the Clowns, in recognition of his achievements at the tepyarkwá.

Close.—When the council feels that these performances have lasted long enough, they set a date for terminating the festival. Game is hunted and vegetable produce brought from the farms. With these materials fish-shaped meat pies are made in the maternal homes of the Fish membership: the lumps are put into a mold of cipó (*Paullinia pinnata* L.) in fish form and burity bast fins are fastened on.

In the meantime the Clowns have erected a camp in the woods by a brook, where they set up palm-leaf fronds as a "weir" and shape hooked implements of forked branches to represent the necks, heads, and bills of aquatic birds. One Clown enters the village to learn whether the pies are ready. He receives in every house a slice of flesh, which he ties to a pole and carries into his society's camp.

In the evening the Fish sing in the plaza to the shaking of rattles, after which they disperse to their six huts.

The following morning the Clowns disguise themselves in their camp in every possible way: they paint themselves grotesquely, clip their hair in part or altogether, or cut themselves two or three hair furrows, one above the other. With the long tufts clipped from the heads of youths they artificially lengthen their girl associates' hair. Thus they enter the village in the afternoon, camping and singing by a fireplace in the plaza. Now falcon down is glued on their girls' bodies. The Clowns bring their wooden bird heads and palm fronds to the plaza, where they quickly dig a circle of holes in the ground to plant the fronds, thus completing the weir. A good runner specially appointed by the council assumes the role of the jejú (kutápti). He is the first of all the Fish to enter his maternal home, receive the fish-shaped meat pie, take it under his arm, and run to the plaza, past the Clowns, and into the weir. Soon he steps out of it again and summons the other Fish, who now similarly fetch their pies from their maternal homes. They enter the weir with them, form a line that faces east and sing.

Meanwhile the Clowns pretend to crush the fish-drugging cipó. The Fish extend their pies toward them, the Clown girls enter first and seize one pie, whereupon all the Clowns try to possess themselves of the rest by attempting to spit them on the beaks of their bird heads. But the Fish break through the weir and try to escape with their pies.

About ten Piranhas (apą'n; *Serrasalmo* sp.) are gathered in a northwest house, armed with bush-knives, and try to chop up the heron heads with which the Clowns attack and drive them out. At last the two Clown girls are the first to seize two Piranhas and rob them of their pies. Immediately the Clowns rush against the

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others, attempting to impale the pies on their beaks, while the Piranhas try to escape.

Five or six acangapáras (kaprąnpéyre, turtle; *Platemis* sp.) lie down on the plaza, face down, with their heads resting on their arms. They are supposed to be lying on their "eggs," represented by all manner of field fruits. The Clowns peck at the acangapáras with their wooden beaks, while the latter pelt their assailants with sand. At last the Clowns chase them away, and seize the "eggs."

Now the Stingrays (čeučétre; *Trygon* sp.) come out of their hut in the southeast of the plaza, some carrying in a mat wrapper a round meat pie in stingray shape, while others protect themselves against the attacking Clowns with pointed wands, their "stings." Finally, the Clowns succeed in impaling the pie, which the Stingrays abandon, and carry the pie to their meeting house.

Next figure the members of the čẽ'pre plaza group, whose hut is in the middle of the east side, next to that of the čõdn. They come out of the hut with a long pie within a plaitwork of palm leaves; it represents a sucuriju (roti; anaconda). They march around the plaza with it and try to get back to their hut, but are attacked by the Clowns, who impale and capture the pie as their loot.

Then two Indians, holding long staffs, which are painted black below and red above, step out of the Fish lodge as Suassuapáras (pokahą'k, swamp deer; *Cervus paludosus*). They put their meat pies on the space in front of the lodge and take up places with their rods beside the pies. But as soon as they catch sight of the Clowns turning toward them, they carry the pies back indoors. However, at last the Clowns burst into the house and seize them.

Then two members of any plaza group whatsoever appear as Capybaras (kumtúm; *Hydrochoerus capibara*). They deposit their pie in a house on the west side of the village circle, where the Clowns capture it.

Three Jacaré (mĩ; *Caiman niger*) follow, bringing a pie from a particular house on the east side. Always directed by Koipóro, they march toward the plaza, but are attacked by the Clowns en route and robbed of their pie.

Then, a single Indian, carrying a gourd bottle with water, impersonates a Skunk (pĩké; *Mephitis suffocans*). He goes to the plaza, where the two Clown girls, barking like dogs, make him stand at bay. He defends himself by splashing them with water, and they flee, howling like dogs hit by the skunk's secretion. But finally the Clowns "kill" him, too.

Finally, three Indians and several girls act as Crabs (pái; *Cancer uça?*). Holding nuts of the babassu (*Orbignia speciosa*) in their hands, they strike them against each other. They come out of the Clowns' meeting house, but are overtaken on their way to the plaza and despoiled of their pie by the Clowns.

This ends the whole performance.

Variant.—There is another, simpler form of this festival. While in that described the plaza groups oppose the Clowns, and the eastern opposes the western plaza groups in all log races during the festive period, the simpler form substitutes the eastern and western *age classes*. In this case only two huts are erected in the plaza, that of the Ticks (tẽre; *Ixodes* sp.) on the east, and that of the Piranhas on the west side.

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MEASURING COSTUME OWNER; PAINTING OF MASKS; GIRL ASSOCIATES OF MUMMERS' SOCIETY

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

343
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575

a

b

MUMMERS' SHED; MUMMERS' DANCE AROUND ASSOCIATES

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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527

575
527

b

MOTHERS-IN-LAW LEADING SONS-IN-LAW; CLOWNS, MASKED AT PEPKAHÁ'K

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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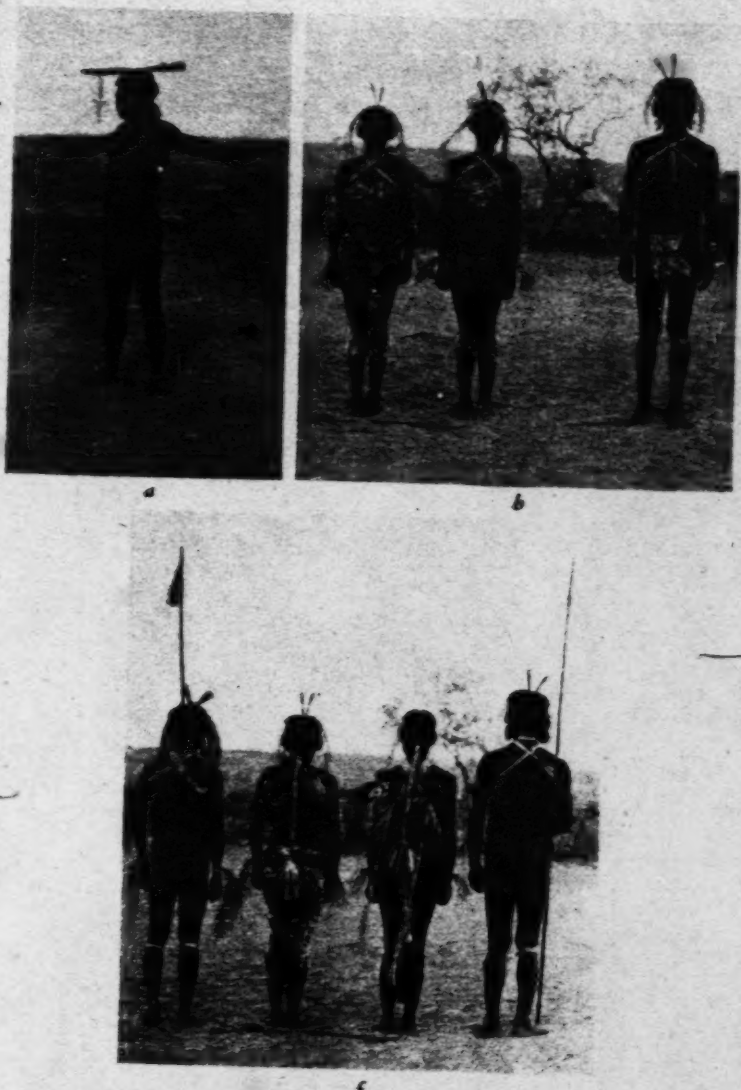

TEPYARKWÁ MESSENGER OF FISH SOCIETIES; TEPYARKWÁ GIRL ASSOCIATES OF CLOWNS; REAR VIEW OF COSTUMES

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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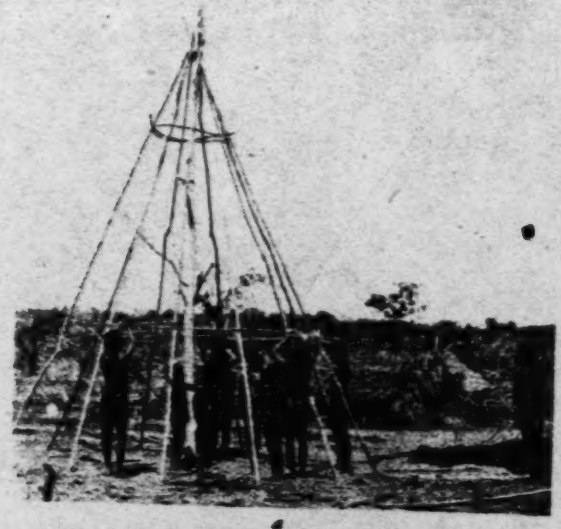

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TEPYARKWÁ FESTIVE HUT OF FISH OTTERS